

Summer 1964

Reviews

THE NEWEST MYTH: "INVISIBLE GOVERNMENT" IN WASHINGTON*
by Kurt L. London

Books reviewed in scholarly journals of international affairs usually are serious analyses and not sensation-mongering books of the "confidential" type. The book under review here, *The Invisible Government*, comes under the latter category. It is given space neither for its quality nor its "message" but in order to expose this ill-begotten concoction of unconnected facts, inconsistencies, insinuations and suggestive political pornography for what it really is: a dent in our national security and a comfort to our enemies.

The authors allegedly are concerned that the American people have not been told all there is to tell about U.S. intelligence. "The book is an attempt," they write, "within bounds of national security, to reveal the nature, size and power of the invisible government," and "to describe a hidden American institution which the American people, who finance it, have a right to know about." The authors do not seem to know the meaning of national security, for they have done their level best to piece together all the information they could obtain, from overt and not so overt sources, to present to the world as clear as possible a picture of U.S. clandestine operations. They have not altogether succeeded but they have found enough small pieces to create a mosaic which will be gratefully welcomed in Moscow and Peking.

The authors sanctimoniously pretend to defend "the people's right to know." There is no government in this harsh world which can afford to make the public privy to all it does in the area of international affairs. Woodrow Wilson's illusion of "open covenants openly arrived at" belongs to the never-never land of political fairy tales. As individuals, so governments must have the right to conceal if they wish to cope efficiently with their environment. There must be a limit to their disclosures to the

citizenry. The decisive factor is not the right to know but the need to know. If the people—and the authors—do not like this, insisting on "the consent of the governed," they must go to the polls, which is the democratic way of doing things. Once they have elected a government, that government is the only one they have and there is no choice but to trust it—or to criticize it responsibly. If they still do not like it, they must elect another one next time. If they do not want to wait four years, they might try to replace the American presidential system with the British parliamentary one so that they can throw out their elected representatives even before their tenure is up.

What is this fabled "invisible government?" It is a catchy but phony slogan for the United States intelligence services in general and the Central Intelligence Agency in particular. It is, in the words of the authors, "a loose amorphous grouping of individuals and agencies drawn from many parts of the visible government." Presumably the authors are afflicted with astigmatism because I, and certainly most other political observers, can clearly see what the authors call "invisible." The men and organizations they mention are all prominent officials who can be detected with the naked eye. They are drawn from the White House staff, the National Security Council and what is called the intelligence community, which consists of the CIA, the State Department, the Armed Forces, the Atomic Energy Commission and the FBI.

The CIA is the roof organization for American intelligence which, prior to World War II, was practically nonexistent. The members of the "Special Group" to which the authors seem to attribute sinister designs are as much in the public eye as any government leaders. There is nothing malign in creating compact groups of executives charged with certain responsibilities for carrying out specific policy decisions. A government too inflexible to create such organizational auxiliaries cannot do its job.

admission, that none of the major policy decisions on operations such as Cuba, Guatemala or Iran were made by either the Special Group or the intelligence community. In every case the U.S. government, in the person of the President and in one case with the concurrence of the British government, has given its consent to proposals which the groups in charge had to implement. We know that the counsel for such action comes from coordinated and interested government departments such as State, Defense and the CIA. If the authors complain that these men keep their collective mouths shut and do not broadcast their intentions around the world, they are correct. Secrecy is not invisibility. The effectiveness of intelligence operations depends on secrecy.

I do not pretend, as the authors do, to know all about the intelligence operations of their "invisible government." It is quite possible that some of their revelations are true, but that does not absolve them from the guilt of having publicized them. Nor does the way in which they present their views absolve them from bias and innuendo directed against the intelligence agencies and the CIA. In some cases, such as that of Indonesia, they go so far as to ask their readers to swallow *non sequiturs*. For example, they seem to assume that the "soldier of fortune, Allen Pope," by the simple fact of his capture, set in motion (a) the release of 37,000 tons of rice to be shipped to Indonesia, (b) the lifting of an arms embargo and (c) a conference between John Foster Dulles and the Indonesian ambassador. Does this sound reasonable?

Not to me.

Continued

in the cases of Laos and Vietnam they oversimplify extremely complex situations. To present a picture in which the CIA dictates policy in these two Southeast Asian countries when the U.S. government in its entirety is concerned with their problems is utterly absurd. The Guatemala story makes a good spy thriller, but even if it were the truth (the authors quote discussions between Samozza and Ydigoras as if they had been present and taken notes) it misses the point the authors are after, namely, the denigration of the intelligence community. Again, in a chapter describing the alleged "Kennedy shake-up," they quote Messrs. Nixon and Udall, Eisenhower and Salinger verbatim; perhaps the authors of the "invisible government" discovered the secret of making themselves invisible and attended these discussions with an invisible tape recorder.

Their venom is particularly noticeable in the chapter called "The Secret Elite," in which they implicitly profess their dislike for John A. McCone. In mentioning Congressional opposition to his appointment as Director of Central Intelligence, they present the arguments of those who disapproved, not the majority which approved. (It is in this chapter that they call the FBI a part of the "invisible government!")

The intent of the authors to discomfit the CIA is particularly blatant in the chapter "A Grey Operation", which purports to describe the exchange of Cuban prisoners for medical supplies. The authors go to a great deal of trouble to drag the CIA into this deal, although there is little or no evidence that it actually was involved. Innuendo is a powerful weapon, as we all sadly remember from the McCarthy era.

As an academic person, I am revolted by the authors' attempt to alienate the academic community from the U.S. government, just when the government has at last reached the inevitable conclusion that it needs the cooperation of knowledgeable and specialized scholars to do research in the social and political sciences—research which by the nature of Civil Service requirements cannot properly be done in government offices. This is not a question of "hidden

money," except in the minds of the authors. If the government requires a research job, there is nothing wrong if it asks academicians to do it. I took this for granted; apparently the authors do not. The MIT Center for International Studies has never denied that it did research work for the CIA. Why should it? The publications of this Center are sufficient proof that it is well equipped to do excellent work, especially in the field of communist affairs. Why single out MIT? There are many other universities that have undertaken studies for the government, "invisible" or visible, and they are none the worse for it. Their faculties have enriched their horizons and the government has had the benefit of their views.

Since the authors are afraid the intelligence community might eliminate American freedoms—presumably because its members keep mum as they ought—they discuss the issue of controls. They do this from the point of view of Senator Fulbright—a view which is not shared by the majority of the Senate or any of the past three Presidents. The issue has come up from time to time, but the Senate has rejected overwhelmingly the proposal to create a Joint Intelligence Committee (after the model of the Joint Atomic Energy Committee) and the Presidents would almost certainly have vetoed any such resolution. The authors shrug off the existing Congressional committees simply because they do not like the "conservatism" of "the men in charge." They brush aside President Eisenhower's board of consultants on foreign intelligence activities set up in 1956 and President Kennedy's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board of 1961. What else could be done to "control" the CIA? Establish yet another committee? There would be no point in this—only innuendo. Control is now exercised by the President and his delegates, special or otherwise, a Congressional committee and a committee of distinguished citizens. This is sufficient.

The authors take their "exhibits" where they can get them. They refer to former President Truman's critical remarks about intelligence operations which he made in a syndicated article on December 22, 1963. Yet it was Presi-

dent Truman who signed the National Security Act of 1947 into law. It is meant when the law stated that the CIA was to "perform such other functions and duties related to intelligence affecting national security as the National Security Council may from time to time direct." This law clearly authorized operational activities without which no intelligence organization worth its keep can function. Moreover, the National Security Act was amended with the CIA Act of 1949, and this amendment spells out CIA Cold War activities in more detail. At that time, President Truman was still in the White House and was aware of the significance of the Act when he signed it into law.

The National Security Council or other responsible groups, so far as is known, never objected to these activities. Nor did President Truman's successors. This is as it should be, for those responsible for our security are not guardians of morality but of national survival. Besides, intelligence consists of analysis and operations; one cannot do without the other.

This book is full of unconnected issues, thrown together like a tossed salad, dressed with sensationalism and insinuations. Why should the authors write and an American publisher pay for the printing of this oversized pamphlet? Is it supposed to improve our government? Is it to "liberate" us from the shackles of CIA "serfdom?" Is it to accuse the United States government of irresponsible actions?

The best that can be said about this book is that it betrays the authors' lack of understanding of the intelligence process. Unfortunately, the authors do more than demonstrate their ignorance. They attribute sinister motives to our intelligence efforts and demand that dirty operational linen (it cannot help being dirty, for the Cold War is dirty too) be washed in public; they are ready to condemn but withhold praise where praise is due. This book may be a financial success in view of the current demand for spy fiction, but of one thing I am sure: it was not written with the best interests of the United States in mind.

Allen-Scott Report

Secret Report Under Wraps

By ROBERT S. ALLEN
AND PAUL SCOTT



Mr. Allen

The Central Intelligence Agency withheld vital intelligence information from the Warren Commission during its investigation of the assassination of President Kennedy.

Despite the commission's written request for all documents that might shed light on the assassination, CIA authorities failed to turn over a national intelligence estimate warning that it is Kremlin policy to remove from public office by assassination Western officials who actively oppose Soviet policies.

Titled "Soviet Strategic Executive Action," the suppressed CIA document went into the shocking details of how agents of KGB, the Soviet secret police, are trained to do away with Western leaders, including officials in the U.S., and to make their deaths appear due to natural causes.

One of the KGB's newly devised assassination weapons is "a pneumatically operated poison ice 'atomizer,' which leaves no wound or other evidence of the cause of death."

While this deadly weapon has yet to be used against any high Western official, hundreds of KGB agents covertly operating outside of Russia have been supplied with this pocket-size gun, awaiting only orders from Moscow to use it.

Highlights of the suppressed intelligence estimate, which is locked in a security area within the tightly-guarded CIA, are as follows:

"It has been reported that the KGB endeavors to remove the threat to Soviet interests posed by certain members of Western governments, sometimes arranging for the dismissal of such persons from public office, at other times even having them 'eliminated' physically.

"Such activities are known to be undertaken against other types of persons in the West, notably defectors from the U.S.S.R. and from other countries of the Soviet bloc.

"One recently reported assassination technique is to electrocute an individual by luring him to use a telephone, connected to a high-voltage wire, during a thunderstorm.

"Another involves the use of a pistol which projects a poison gas in liquid or compressed form. The gas is fatal within seconds and an autopsy would not reveal its use. Non-traceable poisons have been reported which do not take effect until several hours after being administered, thus allowing an assassin to be far from the scene when his victim dies.

"A knowledgeable source has described a pneumatically operated poison ice 'atomizer' which leaves no wound or other evidence of the cause of death."

Congressional investigators, who have asked that the name of their committee be withheld for security reasons, report that CIA Director John McCone made no mention of this explosive document in his secret testimony before the Warren Commission.

While McCone furnished the commission with the CIA's secret surveillance reports on Lee Harvey Oswald's eight days in Mexico City before the assassination, including details of Oswald's contact with the head KGB agent in the Soviet embassy there, the CIA chief gave no hint of the Kremlin's assassination policy.

Other U.S. intelligence experts, very dubious of Russia's co-existence line, stress that the Warren Commission's findings might have been different if this CIA estimate and other documents suppressed by the State Department had been available for study.

They point out that the State Department suppressed evidence linking Oswald with one of its employees who, according to security files, "presented strong pro-Soviet views on every question that came up in the Department's U.S.S.R. country committee" while he was a member.

This State Department official's name also appeared in the address book of a suspected Soviet agent who arrived in the U.S. in 1943, according to government files.

Congressional investigators also have been shocked to discover that the CIA's assassination documents were never shown by administration officials to Speaker John McCormack (Mass.), next in line to succeed President Johnson.

While FBI officials warned Speaker McCormack, a dedicated anti-Communist, that he is on the list of Western officials feared by the Kremlin, no CIA authority has shown the No. 2 man in government the CIA report listing these secret Soviet assassination methods.

Instead, McCormack learned about the report only recently from congressional probers who are trying to determine why the document has been suppressed.

The investigators also are trying to determine why the CIA, in its pre-assassination report to the State Department on Oswald's trip to Mexico City gave details only of the defector's visit to the Russian embassy and not the Cuban embassy. The CIA did not report the latter visit until after Kennedy's assassination in Dallas.

Miami News 1 June 1964

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CIA Has U-M Office, Magazine Claims

Look magazine reported today that the CIA has operated an office on the University of Miami South Campus under the guise of an electronics research firm.

The Look article "comes as a complete surprise to me," said Dr. Henry King Stanford, U-M president.

And the head of the firm in the building named by the magazine as the Central Intelligence Agency address said, "I don't know what they are talking about."

The article in question, called "CIA, the Invisible Government," was written by David Wise and Thomas B. Ross. It said that the CIA was operating as the Zenith Technical Enterprises Inc., at Building 25 on the U-M South Campus near Perrine.

The CIA has operated in Miami under at least three other commercial cover names — the Double-Check Corp., the Gibraltar Steamship Corp. and the Vanguard Service Corp., the Look article stated.

The Miami telephone directory lists the same number for Gibraltar Service and Vanguard Service. The number was not answered yesterday. There was no listing for Double-Check.

and to the best of his knowledge is involved in secret government research.

If it has any connection with espionage he is not aware of it and the Look statements

come as a surprise, Stanford said. The University neither receives grants from the CIA nor recruits any of its graduates for the agency, he added.

H. Robert Graham, who said

he had been manager and controller of Zenith Enterprises since it came to Miami in 1961, denied that it was a CIA cover.

He didn't know what the

magazine writers were talking about, he said, because his firm is subcontractor for a prime contractor doing electronics research for the Defense Department.

The magazine said further that the CIA operates a two-way service with universities — it secretly finances research programs at some universities and the colleges in turn help to recruit CIA personnel.

Dr. Stanford said he would be interested in reading the article.

ing at the University, he said,

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AUGUST 2, 1964

1. G. Jule

They Don't Like It--But They Tell How to Do It!

THE INVISIBLE GOVERNMENT.
By David Wise and Thomas B.
Ross. Random. \$5.95.

By MALCOLM FORSYTH

The Invisible Government, according to the authors, who also gave us "The U2 Affair," is "a loose, amorphous grouping of individuals drawn from many parts of the 'visible government'" which "gathers intelligence, conducts espionage, and plans and executes secret operations all over the globe." Their thesis is that the Invisible Government does not do it very well.

"It is not limited to the Central Intelligence Agency, although the CIA is at its heart," and the CIA is at the heart of this book as well. Though the CIA has been spotlighted in a number of recent books, this is perhaps the first that has drawn claim that CIA Director John McCone contacted them about "either the suppressing or the altering" of the book "on general grounds." Unidentified officials were outraged because the book names certain CIA agents and front activities.

The authors counter that they have only published information either already available or read-

ily available to anyone who is willing to search it out, and they have searched out a great deal. Their versions are given of CIA operations at the Bay of Pigs and in Burma, Viet Nam, Iran, Guatemala, and elsewhere. The history and organization of the CIA is gone into in great detail, and certain activities that might seem extracurricular — domestic offices and "cover" business, subsidies to universities, propaganda radios, and publishing houses—are revealed.

But the contradiction against which the authors protest is reflected in their own attitudes toward the Invisible Government. Such skulduggery is not in keeping with traditional American principles, yet it is obviously necessary, and necessarily secret. The only solution they can offer is for a joint congressional committee to be kept abreast of the secret doings (a proposal that has great merit) and that the doings themselves be planned and executed with more care and coordination. To make the secrecy requirement more palatable, they justifiably suggest "less public misinformation by the government and, perhaps, more discreet silence in difficult circumstances."

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THE READING LAMP:

Behind the Cloak and Dagger

PRESIDENT Johnson's first hour in his first full day as President might have been taken from an Ian Fleming book.

He was escorted by McGeorge Bundy to the Situation Room, a restricted command post deep in the White House basement. As vice-president, Johnson had known much about the Invisible Government's cloak and dagger activities, but now he was given a complete briefing of the organization's work and secrets, shown its top-secret maps, electronic equipment and communications outlets.

Thus begin David Wise and Thomas B. Ross, two experienced newspapermen, in their book, "The Invisible Government" (\$5.95; Random House; 375 pp.), and thus they immediately emphasize the secrecy and scope of America's intelligence and espionage apparatus.

NEWSPAPER dispatches report that the Central Intelligence Agency attempted — unsuccessfully — to censor the book. The authors, however, say they have tried "within the bounds of national security to reveal the nature, size and power of the Invisible Government . . . to describe a hidden American institution which the American people, who finance it, have a right to know about."

Wise and Ross, who also wrote "The U-2 Affair," have compiled a readable, interesting and valuable summary of American intelligence activities. Much of the material has already appeared in newspapers, magazines and books, and it is difficult to see how publication of the book violated security. It might be added that the CIA's protest should only

The Invisible Government, with the CIA as its principal agent, conducts America's intelligence agencies and executes secret operations, such as the successful Guatemalan revolt and the disastrous Bay of Pigs invasion.

A LOOSE, amorphous grouping of individuals and agencies drawn from many parts of the visible government, the Invisible Government includes the CIA, the National Security Council, the Defense Intelligence Agency, the National Security Agency, Army, Navy and Air Force Intelligence, the State Department's Bureau of Intelligence and Research, the Atomic Energy Commission, and the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It also includes many other governmental units and even business and educational institutions.

Power center of the Invisible Government, say the authors, is the secret Special Group, created in the Eisenhower administration under Secret Order 54-12. Its membership has included the director of the CIA, the Undersecretary of Political Affairs, and the Secretary and Deputy Secretary of Defense.

THIS SPECIAL GROUP has "operated for a decade . . . Its existence is virtually unknown outside the intelligence community, and even there only a handful of men are aware of it."

"It is here in this hidden corner of the massive governmental apparatus," say the authors, "that the United States is regularly committed to policies which walk the tightrope between peace and war."

Wise and Ross wonder if the dagger has not, indeed, overshadowed the cloak, and they spend much of their time in detailing special operations overseas. They describe the disastrous Bay of Pigs invasion, the CIA's intricate plan and the controversial lack-of-air-cover charge.

THEY TELL of activities in Burma, where the U. S. ambassador was unaware of the Invisible Government's secret operations; of "soldiers of fortune" in Indonesia, and of the CIA-directed coups in Guatemala and Iran. Other chapters describe electronic spies in the sky and activities of "private" radio networks in Europe.

Throughout the book, the authors raise the question: Has the Invisible Government become too powerful?

Pointing out that some form of Invisible Government is essential to national security, Wise and Ross say that the urgent necessity "is to make the Invisible Government as reconcilable as possible with the democratic system, aware that no more than a tenuous compromise can be achieved."

THE DANGER of special operations, say the authors, lies "in embarking upon them too readily and without effective presidential control."

"The public, the President, and the Congress," conclude Wise and Ross, "must support steps to control the intelligence establishment, to place checks on its powers and to make it truly accountable, particularly in the area of special operations."

—William O. Saltzman

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Lack Of Documentation Lowers Book's Value

JOHN WANAMAKER liked to complain that half of everything his store spent for advertising was wasted. His problem was that he could never decide which half.

Something very much like that may be true of "The Invisible Government" (Random House, 375 pages, \$5.95), an apparently nonfictional description of the nation's intelligence community.

Random House claims the book is "startling and disturbing" and "... the first full, authentic account of America's intelligence and espionage apparatus ..."

AUTHORS THOMAS B. Ross and David Wise have left some startling and disturbing omissions in their full and authentic account.

The documentation of this book is incredibly poor.

The authors have relied on what historians might rather charitably call secondary and tertiary material: they have interpreted interpretations of what may or may not be interpretations of basic, documentary material.

And they have done this without much evaluation. Ross and Wise accept the statements of Presidents, diplomats, spies, bureaucrats, exiles and journalists all at the same impartial weight.

Undoubtedly much of "The Invisible Government" is valid and undoubtedly some of it is not. The lack of documentation and attribution makes it exceedingly difficult to decide which is what and destroys whatever value the book may have.

Wise and Ross describe

for us the thoughts of a Cuban exile pilot as he flew from a CIA base in Central America to bomb Cuba before the Bay of Pigs.

A greater mystery than the CIA is how Wise and Ross came to know what was on the pilot's mind. This may have been a greater coup than any of the CIA's.

A second, although not as fatal flaw is the authors' contention that an unspecified something is wrong with our intelligence agencies.

This something does not seem to be their failures, although these do anger Wise and Ross. It seems to be the simple existence of these agencies.

WISE AND ROSS hint rather coyly that something horrid is going on, but rarely do they state even without documentation just what is horrid—either in quality or quantity.

They leave us with the impression that the CIA and the other agencies are beyond the control of Presidents, that they are threatening the peace of the world and the basis of our republic.

All of this makes "The Invisible Government" a sort of semi-nonfictional equivalent of "Fail-Safe."

It is rather good hot weather journalism, the sort of stuff the more sensational press runs during the slack months of summer. This, incidentally, is exactly what one national magazine has been doing with chapters of "The Invisible Government."

HARRISON ULLMANN

JUL 25 1964

Why Blame the CIA For Our Failures in Will?

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

This column does not accept the conspiracy theory of history. But it does think rather well of the contagion theory. This can involve conspiracy at the outset to float rumors, to slander characters, and to impute motives. The first thing you know everyone and his brother are saying something that is either witless or unprovable, or both.

At the present moment the "contagion" is spreading stories designed to discredit the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency. A book has been written about the CIA called *The Invisible Government*, by David Wise and Thomas B. Ross. I don't want to defend or attack details in the book, for I hear conflicting stories about the CIA, and I don't know whether Wise and Ross have been guilty of compromising twenty-seven CIA agents by naming them. But what bothers me about the "contagion" that currently holds our Central Intelligence operatives to be a danger to democracy is that the butts of all the rumors can't in the nature of things stand up and defend themselves.

There is the case of Richard Bissell, for instance. Bissell had a lot to do with planning the Bay of Pigs operation which failed so lamentably when U.S. air cover failed to materialize over the beaches held by the anti-Castro Cuban invasion brigade. Bissell is the inferential goat of the recent book by Haynes Johnson called *The Bay of Pigs: the Leaders' Story of Brigade 2506*.

Maybe he deserves criticism. But the point is that he can't very well speak up in his own defense without involving others.

On the face of it both the CIA and the Pentagon did plan for an ineffective invasion of Cuba. The critics say that the underground was not alerted, that the maps of the Bay of Pigs coast did not reckon with the coral reefs that snagged some of the invasion boats, that the anti-Castro Cubans were misled by people who "gave them to understand" that the United States was totally committed to their success. But the real failure was one of will, and this cannot be held against Richard Bissell and the CIA.

Mr. Johnson's book, which is exciting in its descriptions of what happened after the unfortunate Artime brigade of anti-Castro Cubans had been dumped on the beaches, is deficient when it comes to exploring the Washington angles of the affair. It suffers from our national obsession with the idea of academic "balance" in all things. And so it misses the big critical point—that the act of decision in anything is a conscious desertion of "balance." Action is by its nature provocative.

Mr. Johnson makes the CIA the goat in its failure to tell the late President Kennedy that control of the beaches by American air power might be necessary. Bissell, indeed, did ask for it after things began to go wrong. At this point Kennedy offered an "air umbrella" to protect the anti-Castro Cubans' own planes, a handful of B-26s based in Central America. But this, on its face, was ambiguous: were we behind the Cubans, or were we not? Who could have told?

In our national fear of anybody with positive convictions (they are "extreme," you know), the point was lost that when you plan to upset a status quo, you must will the means to do it. Bissell of the CIA had been told to upset the Castroite status quo in Cuba, and, however deficient his planning may have been in certain details, he finally asked for the means to make the Artime invasion a success. Neither he nor the CIA should be pilloried because of a failure of national will.

We didn't lose at the Bay of Pigs because of technical failures. We lost because there was no will in Washington to win. If we had stood firm on the Monroe Doctrine and had accompanied the military planning of the CIA with an announcement that the human brutalities of the Castro regime could not be tolerated, the expedition would not have been allowed to fail.

The CIA, as Wise and Ross say in their book, may be incompatible with the open discussion which is at the heart of democracy. But if it is an "invisible government" in itself, it is so only to the extent that we have no real government elsewhere. If the CIA operatives are told to march without being provided with marching orders, why blame them for anything they do?

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THE BOOK SCENE

Authors Reveal All They Know,
To Horror Of U.S. Spy Agency

A Review By RICHARD HARWOOD

My first contact with a real-life spy was in the spring of 1955 during a visit to Washington.

I had lunch with a college classmate who, for several years, had been sending Christmas cards from Spain, the Middle East, and other distant places that smelled of adventure to a Southern boy (myself) who had never been too far away from Murfreesboro.

What, I eagerly wanted to know, had he been up to on his travels?

"I work for the Government," he replied, "but I can't talk about it."

So we talked about wives and children. A couple of

The reviewer is a member of the Washington Bureau of The Louisville Times and The Courier-Journal.

years later I learned that he was an operative for the Central Intelligence Agency.

My next encounter with spies was at a Washington cocktail party a couple of years ago. I was introduced to two ordinary looking fellows who readily revealed that they worked for the mysterious CIA.

They told amusing stories about crossing the Potomac in a canoe each morning to get to work at the CIA headquarters on the Virginia shore. They were very relaxed and wholesome men, but nobody pressed them very hard about their duties because that's not the sort of thing people are supposed to talk about.



SENATOR RICHARD RUSSELL
Among few in the know

BOOK MIGHT
BE REVEALING

It is, therefore, not surprising that proper Washingtonians are somewhat aghast these days at two newspapermen—David Wise and Thomas Ross—who have written a book, "The Invisible Government," that purports to tell all about something that is called the "U. S. intelligence community."

This is jargon for the bureaucratic maze of agencies that has sprung up since World War II to spy on friends and enemies, to inspire revolutions, and to handle the dirty international chores that diplomats



JOHN McCONE
C.I.A. chief is distressed

rarely mention except to lie about.

The CIA is only one of these agencies, although it is easily the most notorious because of its involvement in the Iranian military coup of 1953, the Guatemalan revolution in 1954, the U-2 affair in 1960, and the disastrous Bay of Pigs invasion in 1961.

Its jealous partners in the "intelligence community" include the National Security Agency, which makes and breaks codes; the Defense Intelligence Agency, which operates those Samos satellites (the "spies in the sky") and specializes in military information; the FBI, which spies on spies; the State Department's Bureau of Intelligence and Research, the Atomic Energy Commission, and several smaller outfits.

SPENDING IS
HIDDEN ITEM

Altogether, Wise and Ross say, these agencies employ 200,000 people and spend several billion dollars a year. How much they spend is a state secret. Their money is hidden away in the Defense Department's vast budget and only a handful of congressmen know anything about it.

Indeed, that statement applies to the whole intelligence operation—few people know anything about it. Some scholars, such as Harry Howe Ransom of Vanderbilt and Samuel Huntington of Harvard, have written extensively about these matters, but until Ross and Wise came along no popular book of any significance had been made available to the public.

That is why the CIA is so distressed over "The Invisible Government" and why CIA Director John McCone reportedly offered to buy up all the copies to prevent the book's distribution.

He claimed that the authors have revealed many secrets that will benefit the "enemy," that they have named agents and destroyed their usefulness, and have publicized operations that would have been better left unsung.

Continued

RUSSELL PRESSES FOR SECRECY

This attitude is widely shared in Congress.

"It would be more desirable," Senator Richard Russell once said, "to abolish the CIA and close it up, lock, stock and barrel, than to adopt any such theory as that all members of the Congress of the United States are entitled to know the details of all the activities of this far-flung organization."

Russell, needless to say, is one of the select group that knows all the details.

The passion for secrecy is almost an obsession and this is one of the things that most disturbed Ross and Wise.

"The premise of this book," they write, "is that even in a time of cold war, the United States Government must rest, in the words of the Declaration of Independence, on 'the consent of the governed.' And there can be no meaningful consent where those who are governed do not know to what they are consenting."

They have another premise. It is that the CIA and its brother spy agencies are exerting an unhealthy influence on American foreign policy and, in some cases, carry out important activities that run directly counter to the desires and policies of the White House and the State Department.

This premise is not convincingly supported by the book. It offers little evidence that the CIA is uncontrollable, or that it is insufficiently supervised by the President and his staff.

Other flaws in the book have been detected by critics. William F. Buckley, Jr., the conservative knight errant, dismisses the whole effort as an unpatriotic attempt to hamstring and discredit "an agency of the Government which is increasingly identified among knowing people as the principal gathering place of knowledgeable anti-Communists."

PEOPLE SHOULD KNOW OF BUNGLERS

If Wise and Ross have discredited the CIA by pointing out the absurdity of some of its operations and the fallibility of some of its judgments, then so much the better.

The public ought to know if there are bunglers advising the White House. They ought to know that our Government sometimes speaks with a double-tongue and professes one thing in public while doing the opposite in secret.

Just a few weeks ago we had an example of this sort of thing when the State Department sanctimoniously denied that Americans were flying combat missions in the Congo and then had to turn around and admit that the charge was true.

"The Invisible Government," whatever flaws it may contain and whatever secrets it may divulge, is a valuable contribution to public understanding of American foreign policy.

THE INVISIBLE GOVERNMENT. By David Wise and Thomas Ross. Random House. 361 Pages. \$5.95.

JUL 20 1964

J. G. Fulk

Letters to the Editor

"No Useful Purpose"

What useful purpose do Messrs Wise and Ross believe they have accomplished by publishing "The Invisible Government"?

Even they cannot take seriously the suggestion that the intelligence community is conducting its own foreign policy without Government supervision for they themselves point out that a high level government committee headed by Averell Harriman supervises our secret operations abroad.

What I object to is the revelation "for the first time," as the dust jacket reads, of information which clearly compromises undertakings designed for the security of the country and its citizens, including myself. I do not for a moment doubt the authors' loyalty but I do question the propriety of publishing this critique, no matter how inept they may consider the CIA or how competent they may be to judge matters in this delicate field.

As reliable journalists, which I am sure they are, they have every right to probe into government operations. But as citizens they are serving no useful purpose by revealing secret information which they have uncovered or deduced from their privileged positions as journalists and which the highest authorities consider in the national interest should remain secret. By uncovering active secret agents or agencies they are indeed doing a disservice not only to the intelligence community but to the national community as well.

CHARLES W. THAYER
Ruhpolding, Germany

CHICAGO, ILL.
SUN-TIMES

m. 538,780
S. 661,622

Front Page Edit Page Other Page

Date: AUG 2 1964

The CIA— An Invisible Government

By Thomas B. Ross And David Wise

At the heart of our "invisible government" is the massive Central Intelligence Agency—among the most powerful and yet least known arms of foreign policy. The nature, size and power of this tremendously powerful, extremely costly apparatus are described fully in a best-selling new book, "The Invisible Government," by David Wise and Thomas B. Ross. They earlier collaborated on "The U-2 Affair." Wise is chief of the Washington bureau of the New York Herald Tribune; Ross is a member of The Sun-Times' bureau in the capital.

In this first of a two-part condensation, the authors explain how the Invisible Government has consolidated its power in Washington and describe how it has operated overseas in attempts to bolster or undermine foreign governments. In addition, an engrossing case history of CIA intrigue in the Middle East appears on Pages 2 and 3 of this section.

Next Sunday, a second installment will describe "The Search for Control."

*Our Man
In Iran:
A Case
History*

Continued

There are two governments in the United States today. One is visible. The other is invisible.

The first is the government that citizens read about in their newspapers and children study about in their civics books. The second is the interlocking, hidden machinery that carries out the policies of the United States in the cold war.

This second, invisible government gathers intelligence, conducts espionage and plans and executes secret operations all over the globe.

The Invisible Government is not a formal body. It is a loose, amorphous grouping of individuals and agencies drawn from many parts of the visible government. It is not limited to the Central Intelligence Agency, although the CIA is at its heart. Nor is it confined to the nine other agencies which comprise what is known as the intelligence community: the National Security Council, the Defense Intelligence Agency, the National Security Agency, Army intelligence, Navy intelligence, Air Force intelligence, the State Department's bureau of intelligence and research, the Atomic Energy Commission and the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

The Invisible Government includes, also, many other units and agencies, as well as individuals, that appear outwardly to be a normal part of the conventional government. It even encompasses firms and institutions that are seemingly private.

TO AN EXTENT that is only beginning to be perceived, this shadow government is shaping the lives of 190,000,000 Americans. Major decisions involving peace or war are taking place out of public view. An informed citizen might come to suspect that the foreign policy of the United States often works publicly in one direction and secretly through the Invisible Government in just the opposite direction.

This Invisible Government is a relatively new institution. It came into being as a result of two related factors: the rise of the United States after World War II to a position of pre-eminent world power, and the challenge to that power by Soviet communism.

It was a much graver challenge than any which had previously confronted the republic. The Soviet world strategy threatened the very survival of the nation. It employed an espionage network that was dedicated to the subversion of the power and ideals of the United States. To meet that challenge the United States began constructing a vast intelligence and espionage system of its own. This has mushroomed to extraordinary proportions out of public view and quite apart from the traditional political process.

"The National Security Act of 1947," in the words of Allen W. Dulles, "... has given intelligence a more influential position in our government than intelligence enjoys in any other government of the world."

ON THE FACE of it, this act appeared simply to give the CIA the task of correlating, evaluating and co-ordinating the collection of intelligence. How, then, could the CIA mount an invasion of 1,400 men at the Bay of Pigs, complete with its own air force and navy? How could it topple foreign governments, as it has done and was attempting to do in Cuba?

The answer lies in a subordinate clause in the act which permits the CIA "to perform such other functions and duties

related to intelligence as the National Security Council may from time to time direct."

Almost from its inception, the CIA has engaged in special operations—clandestine activities, sometimes on a military scale. In 1948, after the Communist take-over in Czechoslovakia, James Forrestal, as the first secretary of defense, became alarmed at sign that the Communists might win the Italian elections. In an effort to influence the elections to the advantage of the United States, he started a campaign among wealthy Wall Street colleagues to raise enough money to run a private clandestine operation. But Allen Dulles felt the problem could not be handled effectively in private hands. He urged strongly that the government establish a covert organization to conduct a variety of special operations.

Because there was no specific provision for covert political operations spelled out in the 1947 act, the National Security Council—in the wake of the events in Czechoslovakia and Italy—issued a paper in the summer of 1948 authorizing special operations. There were two important guide lines: that the operations be secret and that they be plausibly deniable by the government.

A DECISION WAS REACHED to create an organization within the CIA to conduct secret political operations. Frank G. Wisner, an ex-OSS man, was brought in from the State

Department to head it, with a cover title of his own invention. He became assistant director of the office of policy coordination.

Under this innocuous title, the United States was now fully in the business of covert political operations. (A separate office of special operations conducted secret actions aimed solely at gathering intelligence.) This machinery was in the CIA but the agency shared control of it with the State Department and the Pentagon. On Jan. 4, 1951, the CIA merged the two offices and created a new plans division, which has had sole control over all secret operations since then.

In addition to the Bay of Pigs, the CIA has been involved in a series of operations in several countries:

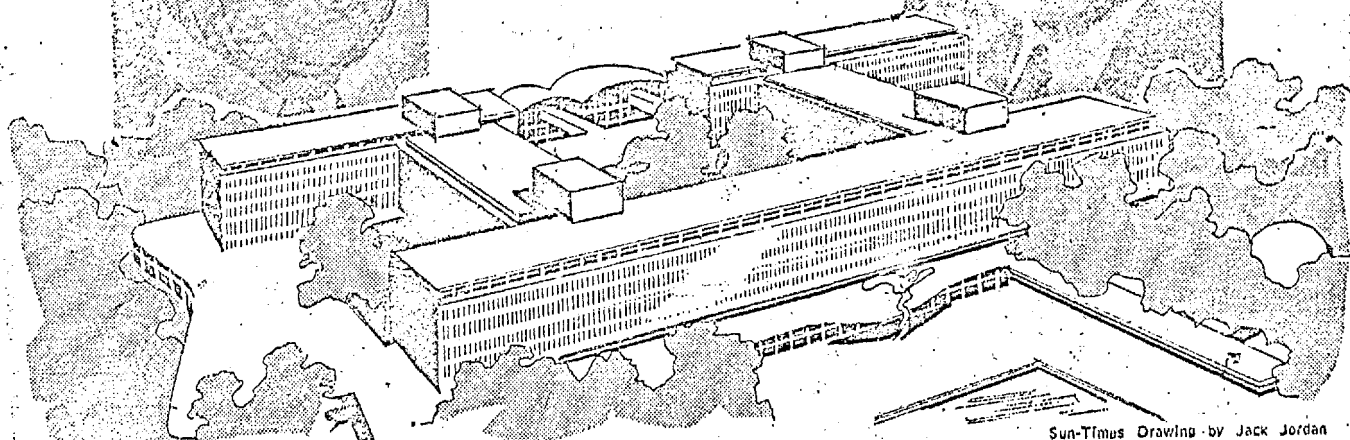
In Iran in 1953 the CIA overthrew the leftist regime of Premier Mohammed Mossadeq and kept Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi on his throne. The revolt was engineered by a CIA agent, Kermit (Kim) Roosevelt, the grandson of President Theodore Roosevelt.

IN BURMA IN THE EARLY 1950s the CIA supported 12,000 Nationalist Chinese troops for a possible invasion of Communist China. The CIA planned and directed the operation from Bangkok, Thailand, under the guise of running Sea Supply, a trading company with the cable address

Continued

John A. McCone

Allen W. Dulles



Sun-Times Drawing by Jack Jordan

John A. McCone, as head of the CIA, presides over a vast complex of personnel and facilities at Langley, Va. Funds for massive \$46,000,000 hideaway were voted when Allen W. Dulles was CIA chief.



While Kermit (Kim) Roosevelt connived in Teheran to restore him to power, Shah of Iran, he waited off-stage in Rome. He opens auto door for Soraya, who was then his queen. (AP)



The mysterious and romantic Gen. Fazollah Zahedi ran upon the overthrow of Mossadegh. A decade earlier he had been kidnapped by British agents for Nazi intrigues.

Gen. Theodore Roosevelt, died on the beaches of Normandy a year later.

The British and American governments had together decided to mount an operation to overthrow Mossadegh. The CIA's estimate was that it would succeed because the conditions were right; in a showdown the people of Iran would be loyal to the Shah. The task of running the operation went to Kim Roosevelt.

Roosevelt entered Iran legally. He drove across the border, reached Teheran, and then dropped out of sight. He had to, since he had been in Iran before and his face was known. Shifting his headquarters several times to keep one step ahead of Mossadegh's agents, Roosevelt operated outside of the protection of the American Embassy. He did have the help of about five Americans, including some of the CIA men stationed in the embassy.

In addition, there were seven local agents, including two top Iranian intelligence operatives. These two men communicated with Roosevelt through cutouts—intermediaries—and he never saw them during the entire operation.

As the plan for revolt was hatched, Brig. Gen. H. Norman Schwarzkopf, who used to appear on radio's "Gang Busters," turned up in Teheran. He had reorganized the Shah's police force in the 1940s. He was best known for his investigation of the Lindbergh baby kidnaping case when he headed the New Jersey state police in 1932. Schwarzkopf, an old friend of Zahedi's, claimed he was in town "just to see old friends again." But he was part of the operation.

ON AUG. 13 THE SHAH SIGNED a decree dismissing Mossadegh and naming Zahedi as premier. The unco-operative Mossadegh arrested the unfortunate colonel who brought in his notice of dismissal. Mobs rioted in the streets; the 33-year-old Shah and his queen (at that time the beautiful Soraya) fled to Baghdad by plane from their palace on the Caspian Sea.

For two chaotic days, Roosevelt lost communication with his two chief Iranian agents. Meanwhile, the Shah had made his way to Rome; Allen Dulles flew there to confer with him. Princess Ashraf, the Shah's attractive twin sister, tried to play a part in the international intrigue, but the Shah refused to talk to her.

In Teheran, Communist mobs controlled the streets; they destroyed statues of the Shah to celebrate his departure. Suddenly, the opposition to Mossadegh consolidated. The army began rounding up demonstrators. Early on Aug. 19 Roosevelt, from his hiding place, gave orders to his Iranian agents to get everyone they could find into the streets.

The agents went into the athletic clubs of Teheran and rounded up a strange assortment of weight-lifters, muscle-men and gymnasts. The odd procession made its way through the bazaars shouting pro-Shah slogans. The crowd grew rapidly in size. By mid-morning it was clear the tide had turned against Mossadegh and nothing could stop it.

ZAHEDI CAME OUT of hiding and took over. The Shah returned from exile. Mossadegh went to jail and the leaders of the Tudeh were executed.

The United States, of course, has never officially admitted the CIA's role. The closest Dulles came to doing so was in a CBS television show in 1962, after his retirement from the CIA. He was asked whether it was true that "the CIA people spent literally millions of dollars hiring people to riot in the streets and do other things, to get rid of Mossadegh. Is there anything you can say about that?"

"Well," Dulles replied, "I can say that the statement that we spent many dollars doing that is utterly false."

The former CIA chief also hinted at the CIA's Iran role in his book, "The Craft of Intelligence." "... support from the outside was given ... to the Shah's supporters," he wrote, without directly saying it came from the CIA.

TWO YEARS AFTER HIS OPERATION in Iran, Kim Roosevelt turned up across the Red Sea in a mysterious episode in a new setting.

On Sept. 27, 1955, Egyptian Premier Gamal Abdel Nasser announced to the world that he had concluded an arms deal with the Soviet bloc. Washington had been unwilling to sell weapons to Egypt on Nasser's terms, and the Arab leader turned to the East.

The news threw Washington into a turmoil, although the deal had been predicted beforehand by the CIA. It was one case, however, where John Foster Dulles had not been inclined to take too seriously the reports coming from his brother.

The State Department and the CIA had agreed to send Roosevelt to Cairo for a firsthand look. Roosevelt, by now the assistant director of the CIA for the Middle East, did so, and reported back that the negotiations were about to be completed. Foster Dulles sent him a long telegram reiterating his skepticism. Roosevelt fired back a pointed message ad-

vising the secretary of state to read his morning papers, which would carry Nasser's announcement.

Roosevelt was right. On Sept. 28, the day after Nasser's defiant disclosure, George V. Allen, assistant secretary of state for Near Eastern affairs, was dispatched to see Nasser right away.

His hasty departure was announced by the State Department only three minutes before he took off from New York. Dulles, who returned to Washington the same day, termed George Allen's trip "only a more or less routine visit." It was far from that. With him, George Allen carried a letter from Sec. Dulles, warning that the arms deal could hand Egypt over to the Communists. Dulles had signed the quickly drafted letter just before Allen departed. While Allen was winging his way to the land of the Sphinx the United States wire services sent out dispatches speculating that he took with him an "ultimatum" to Nasser.

At this point, the CIA's "Mr. Iran" became the central figure in some shadowy backstage maneuvering in the Egyptian capital. British newspaper accounts of the episode later referred to a "Mr. X," a mysterious American official. In reality, he was Kim Roosevelt.

ONE VERSION of the affair that became widely accepted was given by Nasser himself in a blood-and-thunder speech at Alexandria on July 26, 1956, the same day he seized the Suez Canal.

"After the arms deal was announced," Nasser told a crowd already worked up by his oratory, "Washington sent a representative to Egypt, Mr. George Allen. . . ."

"An American official contacted me and sought a special interview. He said that . . . Allen has a strong note from the U.S. government which might prejudice Egyptian nationality and prestige. I assure you that this note will have no effect because we shall be able to remove its effect. I advise you to accept this message."

"I asked him: 'What is the insult to Egyptian nationality and prestige about?' He said: 'This is a message from Mr. Dulles and is strongly worded. We are astonished how it was sent. We ask you to have cool nerves. You always had cool nerves. Accept this message with cool nerves. . . .'"

"He said that no practical outcome would emanate from this message and guaranteed this. I told him: 'Look . . . if your representative comes to my office and says something unpleasant, I shall throw him out.' (Applause)"

"This happened at the beginning of October. Then he came again and told me that he had told this to Mr. Allen and that Mr. Allen was wondering whether he would be thrown out when he came to convey his message to me, and also whether Mr. Dulles would throw him out if he went back without conveying this message." (Applause)

George Allen did see Nasser, and he was not thrown out. But the disturbing story circulated in Washington that a certain "Mr. X," a high CIA official, had undercut the official foreign policy of the United States by getting in ahead of George Allen and telling Nasser to forget whatever the special envoy told him.

WHAT HAD HAPPENED, as best it can be pieced together, was this:

When Allen's plane landed in Cairo, he was unaware of the storm kicked up there by reports that he was bringing an ultimatum from the Eisenhower administration. A mob of Western and Egyptian newsmen were waiting at the airport. Ambassador Henry A. Byroade sprinted aboard the plane to warn George Allen of the situation.

Forarmed, the assistant secretary of state was cautiously noncommittal to newsmen who surrounded him when he stepped off the plane. In the crowd, Allen spotted Kim Roosevelt. He nodded to the CIA man, but they kept their distance from each other in public.

Before Allen's arrival, Byroade and Roosevelt had agreed that it would be an intolerable loss of face if the envoy were refused an interview with Nasser. So, in the seclusion of the embassy, Roosevelt, Byroade and Eric H. Johnston, who was there negotiating a water agreement, sat down with Allen and went over the letter from Sec. Dulles. They told Allen it was so patronizing that Nasser would take it as an insult and throw him out of the office. They urged that at the very least, he read the letter instead of handing it to Nasser formally.

As a result of this, George Allen sent a cable to Dulles recommending that he deliver the tough message orally. That way, Nasser would not have a letter to make public afterward. Dulles cabled back, telling Allen to use his best judgment.

Meanwhile, Kim Roosevelt, who knew Nasser well, had gone to see him. Roosevelt's defenders insist he did so to ease the way for Allen. They maintain that he joshed Nasser, told him to act like a grown man and not blow up, and asked him to listen politely when George Allen read his letter. Roosevelt did not, they say, ask Nasser to disregard Allen's message, as Nasser indicated later.

AT HIS OWN MEETING with Nasser on Oct. 1, Allen was accompanied by Byroade. Allen told Nasser that the United States recognized Egypt's right to buy arms where it wanted, but pointed out that the United States had refused to sell jets to Israel and was anxious not to escalate the arms race in the Middle East.

"You wouldn't sell me arms," Nasser said. "I had to buy where I could."

Nasser was vague when Allen pressed to find out whether the arms deal was a prelude to something bigger. Finally, Allen pulled out the letter and formally read its text to Nasser. There was no translation, since the Egyptian premier's English was entirely adequate. However, Allen did not leave the letter with Nasser.

What is clear, at any rate, is that the assistant director of the CIA saw Nasser ahead of the assistant secretary of state.

Eisenhower could not have known of this at the time, because he was under an oxygen tent in Denver, having suffered his heart attack. On Oct. 4 Secretary Dulles told a news conference that as a result of the talks between Allen and Nasser there had been achieved a "better understanding."

If by this the secretary of state meant that through the intervention of "Mr. X," the assistant secretary of state for Near Eastern affairs had not been thrown out of the office of the premier of Egypt, he was correct.

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Date: JUL 17 1964

Friday Book Report

The Book CIA Complained of--It Hits Hard at Secret Agency

By PAUL VANDERWOOD
Press-Scimitar Staff Writer

On May 1, 1960, the uncompromising faith of millions of Americans in their country's system of government was rocked by an almost incredible event. A U. S. spy plane had been shot down over Russia.

"Spy plane? Who us?" asked the ruffled populace.

The State Department's spokes man, Lincoln White, answered the American public:

"There was absolutely no—N-O—no deliberate attempt to violate Soviet airspace. There never has been."

Of course, succeeding events revealed White's (and the U. S. Government's) deliberate attempt to mislead the public, and the truth became known that this democracy was, had been and still is involved up to its neck in the business of intelligence-gathering, espionage and sabotage.

There are at least seven U. S. agencies actively involved in intelligence matters, but the one which does the most work in the field is the one about which we know the least: the Central Intelligence Agency.

"The Invisible Government" (Random House, \$5.95) purports to tell us a great deal about this agency. The authors are Thomas B. Ross and David Wise, two



"digging" Washington Bureau reporters for The Chicago Sun-Times and New York Herald Tribune respectively.

The contention is made (and rather substantially documented) that the CIA enjoys a quasi-independent status in our governmental structure, and is responsible to virtually no authority beholden to the people, namely the President and the Congress. Even the State Department can't keep tabs on the CIA, say the authors.

"The secret intelligence machinery of the government can

never be totally reconciled with the traditions of a free republic," the authors continue, "but . . . the solution lies not in dismantling this machinery but in bringing it under greater control."

It's doubtful that the CIA is as invisible as is claimed. But if only one-half the claims are true—and the CIA complained that the book breaches security 112 times, uncovers 26 CIA agents and four important CIA operations—the entire proposition deserves full and immediate public attention.

Hate CIA Week • Two Views of One Book

By WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY JR.



COMES now this book called "The Invisible Government" by David Wise and Thomas B. Ross (Random House) and it turns out to be not a book by an extreme rightwinger (as we have been taught to call them) complaining that this or that organization actually runs the government's affairs; but a book by a couple of liberals (as we have been taught to call them) who complain that our invisible government is our intelligence complex, the ganglion of which is the Central Intelligence Agency.

The title of the book, I fear, is a giveaway to the essential cynicism of the authors. I make this judgment with considerable regret since one of them was my old college pal.

The thesis that the CIA is an invisible government is so palpably absurd that one must conclude that the book's purpose, notwithstanding its sanctimonious pretensions, is simply to make a little scandal, and make a little money.

The politically interesting aspect of the book is that the CIA comes in for a full-fledged attack from writers whose interests transparently lie not in pressing the defensive war against the Soviet Union, but in discrediting an agency of the government which is increasingly identified among knowing people as the principal gathering place of knowledgeable anti-communists.

I never thought those words would escape from my typewriter, because I have not in the past thought of the CIA as an impressive anti-communist organization.

Whether it is more accurate to say that the CIA stands out only in refreshing contrast to U. S. foreign policy, which during the past few years has become so relaxed as to be ga-ga about the communist problem, I do not venture to say.

The point is that precisely our determination to avoid a hot war against our enemies requires that we make diligent efforts to defend ourselves in the cold war—that we conduct effective psychological warfare; maintain keen intelligence operations; and help our friends fight back against the communists by means that, many of them, require great secrecy.

Secrecy. The authors of this book do an incredible thing, and I pray that, there being apparently no law which will bring home to them the disservice they have done to their country, some day their consciences will speak to them about the meaning of what they have done.

In their effort to achieve a lurid sensationalism they have actually named 26 persons who are CIA agents in deep cover: men whose names mean absolutely nothing at all to you, or to me, and who might just as well, for the purposes of this book, have been spoken about pseudonymously.

The same is true of various enterprises that are clandestinely backed by the CIA—they are, in the lingo of the trade, "blown."

It will no doubt occur to the wags to say that if a couple of enterprising American journalists can find out the identity of CIA personnel and enterprises, so can the Russians, and all that is proven is that CIA security procedures are not as tight as they should be.

Such an observation is naive: Americans are an open people who, in Winston Churchill's phrase, thrive on indiscretion. But it is one thing to reveal the true identity of someone to an American reporter. It is another to reveal it to the world at large. In the world at large there are communists.

The ostensible thesis of this book is that Congress and the State Department should more closely control CIA activities. The authors' concern is phoney, I believe.

Granted there are grave problems involved in the operation of a secret organization whose activities are outside the purview of the American people. But "The Invisible Government" is not a serious book about a serious problem of democracy, but a sensationalist book by authors who verge close to unpatriotism, and whose target suggests, in the shifting context of our time, that that other invisible government which controls the minds and the impulses of so many American Liberals has marked the CIA as a major target of attack.

By RICHARD STARNES



WHO was the mysterious stranger who tried to buy up the entire printing of "The Invisible Government," a soon-to-be-published book that has the Central Intelligence Agency climbing the walls in anguish?

When the CIA was told that some informed persons charge that the CIA, itself, tried to swing the deal, it fell back on the explanation it most often uses: No comment.

Bennett Cerf, president of Random House, which is publishing the book, contributed considerably more words but little more information.

"Somebody from Washington," he said, chuckling in the manner of a YMCA secretary engaging in man-to-man railery, "came to somebody here and suggested that perhaps—it was very amorphous, like a balloon, a trial balloon—they might buy up the entire first printing. I told them . . ."

"The mysterious stranger?" we inquired silkily.

"No, no," Mr. Cerf replied, bubbling with good humor. "One of our people, a salesman, I think. I told them we'd sell as many of the books as they wanted."

"As who wanted?"

"I honestly and sincerely don't know," Mr. Cerf replied.

But apparently (it's all very amorphous, like a balloon full of good natured hot air) the proposed purchase collapsed when it became clear that Random House would immediately order a second printing for public distribution if it were fortunate enough to sell out the first printing. "The whole idea was laughable," Mr. Cerf laughed.

Look Magazine, however, which printed excerpts from "The Invisible Government" in its June 16 number, readily conceded that the CIA had urged it to make changes in the text prior to publication. "The CIA approached Gardner Cowles (Look president and editor) and asked that some changes be made—things they considered inaccuracies," a spokesman said. "We made a number of changes, but we do not consider that they were significant."

The authors of "The Invisible Government" are David Wise and Thomas B. Ross, two young, energetic and respected Washington reporters. Neither will discuss for the record the spooky bibliophile who apparently tried to smother their book in money. Nor will either talk about the not-so-mysterious campaign to blackguard the book as a breach of national security.

But it is a fact that publishers, editors and authors associated in production of the book all use the same word to describe charges that the book reveals security secrets: "Nonsense."

"We understand," said one, "that the CIA claims the book compromised 26 or 27 agents by naming them. This is nonsense. We named no CIA agents that had not previously been named in public someplace else—in newspapers, printed transcripts of hearings, court records. Dozens of names were withheld voluntarily from the book, altho an enemy presumably would have had no more trouble in learning them than the authors did, simply because we wanted to lean over backward to avoid revealing any names not previously on the public record."

"It seems obvious that the CIA is trying to use national security to muzzle legitimate criticism—not to preserve genuine secrets. But for whatever reason, the CIA did try to censor, change or suppress the book. They obtained galley proofs before the book was bound—and reacted violently. But not a line was changed, simply because it was our firm conclusion that no security breach was involved."

Whatever the details of the invisible campaign to keep "The Invisible Government" out of the hands of the reading public, it seems to have backfired. Mr. Cerf cheerfully confided that the original first printing order of 12,500 copies had been increased to 17,500. But, ho, ho, ho, not as the result of the shadowy attempt by that mysterious stranger to buy up the entire first printing. Washington to corner the market.

Capital Reading

'Top of the Iceberg' View Of CIA No News in Kremlin

Reviewed by Harry Howe Ransom

Mr. Ransom is professor of political science at Vanderbilt University. He is the author of "Central Intelligence and National Security" and "Can American Democracy Survive Cold War?"

THE INVISIBLE GOVERNMENT. By David Wise and Thomas B. Ross. Random House. 375 pp. \$5.95.

THE CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY has always lacked friendly constituents. Right-wing conservatives suspect it because its existence symbolizes the global involvement of the United States in world affairs and because the CIA employs a large number



Ross

of eggheads. Liberals have long used CIA as a whipping boy, either depicting it as manned by blindly anti-Communist cops, or fearing the implications for democratic government of its secret power.

State Department foreign service officers commonly refer to CIA's overseas personnel as "spooks," regard them as clumsy competitors, and envy their affluence.

In the Pentagon, the new, centralized Defense Intelligence Agency appears to be a CIA competitor.

On Capitol Hill, the agency's reputation is poor, except among a handful of senior solons who somehow believe they know all they need to know about CIA. This bad name results from secrecy, one consequence of which has been to lead most Congressmen to expect too much from intelligence activities.

President Kennedy aptly



Wise

told CIA employees when dedicating their new headquarters in November, 1961, "Your successes are unheralded, your failures are trumpeted."

Washington journalists David Wise, chief of The New York Herald Tribune's bureau, and Thomas B. Ross of the Chicago Sun-Times have put together a book that trumpets the CIA's operational failures and the alleged failure of responsible political authority to control this "invisible government."

This muckraking book rests upon the simplistic idea that the "intelligence community," with CIA at its "heart," is the "other" government in Washington. They say it not only is a state within a state, but has bungled most of its clandestine overseas operations.

The book is touted by its publisher as "the first full, authentic account of America's intelligence and espionage apparatus." Wise and Ross claim that "much of the material has never been printed anywhere else before." Some government officials reportedly regard the book as a serious security breach.

Publisher and authors exaggerate the book's originality. Nonetheless, it is the most complete synthesis of information and speculation yet published. Some of its "revelations," however, are of doubtful accuracy.

For example, the authors say that the Center for International Studies at Massachusetts Institute of Technology was established with CIA money in 1950 and "has adopted many of the practices in effect at the CIA headquarters in Virginia. An armed guard watches over the door and the participating academicians must show badges on entering or leaving."

CIA apparently did provide some secret funds in initial support of the MIT Center. But the authors' description of security

procedures there is fiction. Their treatment of this and other topics is misleading, casting doubt upon the authenticity of some of the book's disclosures. But just try to check the facts with CIA!

YET, WISE AND ROSS have written a very revealing book, even though 90 per cent of its content may be old hat to sophisticates.

There is new information and interpretation regarding the Bay of Pigs, the "second Cuba" of October, 1962, and various CIA misadventures in Burma, Indonesia, Laos, Viet-Nam and elsewhere.

Nixon, we are told, wanted Cuba invaded prior to election day in November, 1960.

A secret, high-ranking "Special Group" controlling secret operations is described, seeming to contradict the book's main point about inadequate policy control.

There are also allegations regarding CIA's invisible hand in universities, book publishing, a steamship company and overseas propaganda broadcasting. Taking this book with absolute seriousness, one may suspect that his corner grocer is a CIA agent.

Despite the ballyhoo over security breaches and allegations that CIA attempted to prevent this book's distribution, it seems unlikely that Wise and Ross have revealed anything significantly new to the Communists. If two energetic, able reporters can ferret out such information, think how much is being learned by an army of analysts working for KGB and GRU, Russia's equivalents of CIA and DIA combined with the FBI.

This book will be less revealing to the Kremlin than to the American public. But readers still will have no more than a "top of the iceberg" view of our intelligence system.

LBJ Stresses His Concern With Safety

United Press International

President Johnson said today, "War is obsolete cause there can be no war." He said the question not whether the world eliminate war, but when will have "the courage good sense to do so."

Addressing the Presidential conference on occupational safety, Mr. Johnson said day when war is eliminated "will not come quickly."

But he said America possesses the qualities of patience, education and perseverance needed to bring this about.

The President told 3000 delegates to the safety conference at Constitution Hall that he hoped they would return home with the conviction whatever their politics, their Government and the in it are determined that peace and freedom shall prevail in the world.

Noting the concern with job safety, Johnson said the "first constant concern of American Presidency in this age is human safety—making this Nation safe, making the world safe."

He referred to today's war as an "age of clear and present terror."

Jaycees Hail Wallace's Jibe at Court

DALLAS, June 23 (UPI)—Alabama Gov. George Wallace today attacked the Supreme Court for its prayer-in-school ban and the Federal Government's civil rights bill and received a five-minute standing ovation at the U.S. Junior Chamber of Commerce national convention.

"We are becoming a Government-fearing people instead of a God-fearing people," Wallace roared to 75 delegates in this convention keynote address.

Cheers interrupted Wallace time and again through his speech. Only an occasional call or boo was heard.

Wallace made the keynote speech despite the protests the Connecticut delegates which absented itself.

In his speech Wallace charged a "force cult" taken over in Washington and is addicted to "pure, brutal, naked Federal force."

The delegation from New York roared almost in unison "no, no," when Wallace said that because of the Supreme Court, students in the states "cannot even sing 'America' because it has the word God in it."

The president of the Dallas Chapter of the Junior Chamber of Commerce, Stuart Werner, said in Washington that the Washington chapter did not know in advance of the Governor's remarks.

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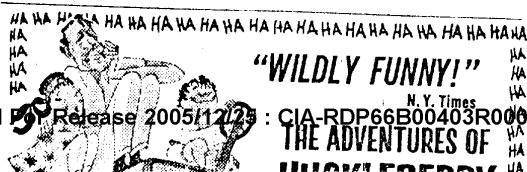
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JENKIN LLOYD JONES

Fact and Fear About the CIA

Are all Americans living under the shadow of a secret Government centered in the Central Intelligence Agency?

Have the President and Congress lost control?

Is our Nation being dragged unknowingly into dangerous and even immoral adventures by a handful of professional spies made reckless by the possession of billions in unaudited public funds?

If this is true our whole system of popular Government is in danger and we should crank up the sirens and blow the whistles.

But is it true?

Two Washington correspondents, Thomas B. Ross of the Chicago Sun-Times and David Wise of the New York Herald Tribune, have just published a book, "The Invisible Government," designed to show American democracy in grave jeopardy from its own intelligence operations.

On Page 5 they say:

"The invisible Government is also generally thought to be under the direct control of the National Security Council. But, in fact, many of its major decisions are never discussed by the council. These decisions are handled by a small directorate, the name of which is only whispered. How many Americans have ever heard of the 'Special Group'? The name of this group, even its existence, is unknown outside the innermost circle of the invisible Government."

Here is a sure-fire way to sell a book—the startling revelation hinting at an evil conspiracy. The reader is left to stew about this peril for exactly 255 pages until the authors name the current "Special Group" as consisting of the President's representative, McGeorge Bundy, Defense Secretary McNamara, CIA Director John McCone, Deputy Secretary of Defense Roswell Gilpatric, and Deputy Under Secretary of State U. Alexis Johnson. President Johnson's "Special Group" was com-

posed of men holding the same officers.

With the President able to fire the CIA director any time and with his personal emissary, the State Department and the Defense Department sitting in high judgment over the CIA, the picture of a runaway power begins to grow fuzzy.

Does Congress have any control? There are CIA subcommittees of the Armed Services committees of each house of Congress. There also are CIA subcommittees of the Appropriations committees of both houses. These subcommittees are privy to the CIA's innermost secrets. But the book's authors gripe that their members represent "the most conservative elements in Congress" and they insist that there should be a joint House-and-Senate committee on the CIA. They even suggest a member—Senator Fulbright.

Now a joint committee, if it were composed of congressmen who could keep their mouths shut, might be a fair substitute. But by their nomination of Senator Fulbright the authors reveal the type of pressure they would hope such a committee would exert on the CIA. On page 43 they quote Senator Fulbright as expressing distaste for America's direct action in helping unseat the Communist-dominated Arbenz regime in Guatemala in 1954, and his opinion that this country should aid no revolt against Castro that couldn't guarantee "a strong, vigorous liberal government."

As a matter of fact, Messrs. Wise and Ross seem to think that unless an American style of representative government can be set up this country should take no action against Communist efforts to seize control of a foreign land. On page 113 they criticize the CIA's part in thwarting Premier Mohammed Mossadegh's attempt to turn Iran into a Russian puppet because follow his ouster. And on page

183, concerning Guatemala, they mourn:

"The invisible Government had moved in, accomplished its task, and moved on. The yoke of poverty and an indifferent oligarchy. The abysmal conditions that led to Arbenz in the first place were as apparent as ever."

Now, it would be lovely if all the backward and undeveloped nations of the world could confound the Communists by adopting genuine representative democracies. Efforts by the Alliance for Progress to nudge Latin America in this direction are laudable.

But a Communist take-over doesn't simply mean a trial period in which the people will see whether it works better than the old system, and, if not, throw it out. As soon as the Reds seize power every ruthless device—executions, torture and terror—is employed to insure the irreversibility of the revolution.

Our State Department "liberals" who did everything to aid Mr. Castro in the overthrow of the admittedly corrupt Mr. Batista should have learned something. It is often better to support a 40-per cent democracy than to permit Mr. Khrushchev to set up a 100-per-cent police state.

It is sad that we live in a world where national survival requires the maintenance of a large intelligence agency. It is unfortunate that we must occasionally depart from our traditions and try, by covert means, to influence the political fortunes of another nation.

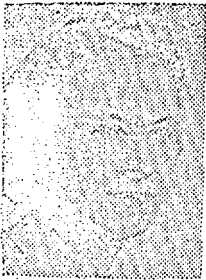
But the discrediting and dissolution of the CIA are high on the Communist agenda. Radio Havana on June 2 cheered the writings of Mr. Wise and Mr. Ross and demanded: "Is it not time that the United States people took hold of the Central Intelligence Agency and brought it to heel?"

Let's remember who's

JULY 29, 1964

1, 6, July

ANNEZ ROBB



The Ugly Chorus

STRANGE bedfellows make dirty politics. If Nikita Khrushchev, the universal Communist, and George Rockwell, the All-American Nazi, just keep up their attacks on Sen. Barry Goldwater, they may catapult him into the White House in November.

From those two every knock—it can be piously stated—is a boost. Crackpots know no season or reason, and not all of them are trying to get on the Goldwater bandwagon. As the world has sad cause to know, it takes very little to bring the anti-Semites from under the rocks and out of the woodwork.

Since the Arizona Senator's nomination as the GOP Presidential candidate there has been a constant increase in the anti-Semitic content of the mail crossing my desk. The Anti-Defamation League in New York has also begun to notice increased action, aimed at the Arizona Senator, among the professional anti-Jewish hate groups.

The league has evidence that not all Southerners regard Sen. Goldwater as their white knight. The ill-smelling National States Rights party, based in Birmingham, Ala., has already bitterly attacked him in its publication, The Thunderbolt, as a "Kosher Conservative."

The anti-defamation organization also suspects that the anti-Semitic tacticians are just beginning to surface and that there will be much more to come.

Nothing surprises me so much as to find that the old,

discredited "Protocols of the Elders of Zion" are still being circulated by the vicious to the gullible. I had supposed that their falsity had been established, once and for all, after the late Henry Ford had a fling at distributing them years ago.

But I had an invitation a few days ago from an anonymous admirer, who addressed me as "Stupid Gentile, WAKE UP!", to buy the "Protocols" at \$1 per copy. Or, if I wanted to spread the word, at \$10 for 15 copies.

Ever since the "Protocols" were forged by the Czarist Intelligence Service in the last years of the 19th century, this supposed blueprint of world domination by the Elders of Zion has been known to be not only cruel and libelous but wholly false.

However, continuous exposure of their complete buncombe has only endeared them the more to anti-Semites. On June 1, 1948, former Sen. Harley M. Kilgore of West Virginia inserted in the Congressional Record an official exposure of the "Protocols" by the Library of Congress. The Senator referred to them as "a cruel and vicious forgery."

As late as 1961, Richard Helms, then assistant director of the CIA, testified to the invention of the "Protocols" before the Senate Internal Security subcommittee.

Speaking of its "long tradition in the art of forgery," Mr. Helms said, "More than 60 years ago the Czarist Intelligence Service concocted and peddled a confection called 'The Protocols of the Elders of Zion.' As late as 1958 this item was being pushed by the psychological warfare organizations specializing in anti-Semitism. In the 1930s and '40s, Hitler's propagandists borrowed it and added to it some confecting of their own."

Now, as late as July, 1964, a hate outfit in Union, N. J., ironically calling itself the "Christian Education Assn.," is publishing and distributing the purely fictitious "Protocols." And probably making a pretty penny out of them.

However, my invitation to buy the "Protocols," written on the front of a hateful, anti-Semitic publication, came not from Union, N. J., but from Sen. Goldwater's home town, Phoenix, Ariz.

It's enough—almost—to elect the Arizonan, especially if the hate literature and organizations and Khrushchev and Rockwell just keep up their ugly chorus.